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### THE ORIGINS OF ROMAN EXPERIMENTS IN SOCIAL WELFARE\*

In the sixth book of his history Polybius discussed the virtues of the constitution devised by Lycurgus. He found that "Lycurgus . . . established his constitution without the discipline of adversity, because he was able to foresee by the light of reason the course which events naturally take and the source from which they come."<sup>1</sup> He went on to state that "though the Romans arrived at the same result in framing their commonwealth, they have not done so by means of abstract reasoning, but through many struggles and difficulties, and by continually adopting reforms from knowledge gained in disaster. The result has been a constitution like that of Lycurgus and the best of any existing in my time. . . ." Polybius recognized in the Roman constitution, then, a natural growth. There is, moreover, implicit in Polybius' subsequent discussion of the virtues of the Roman constitution a Stoic approval of, admiration for, and confidence in it because it was a product of Nature. To

understand the adventures in welfare legislation at Rome we must never lose sight of this fact: that they were developed in a state, the government of which was the product of generations of evolution.

If we define welfare legislation as those legislative activities which specifically purpose to improve the material estate of an individual or of a group within the body politic, it is not until the era of the Gracchi that we will find a program on a large scale and consciously undertaken which will satisfy our definition. At that time, and for generations thereafter, the Gracchan laws were condemned as unconstitutional, demagogic, and contrary to Roman principles and traditions; yet it would be possible to discover a Roman precedent, more or less appropriate, for each proposal made by the Gracchi. This apparent paradox requires of us a closer scrutiny of earlier Roman society and of the nature of these alleged precedents.

Although there are traces found in Roman law of a time when the *gens* was the basic unit among the Romans' ancestors, long before the establishment of the Republic that basic unit became the *familia*. The *familia* consisted of all the human beings dwelling in one establishment, the family property consisting of the *heredium*, a unit of two *iugera* or more of land, and the *fundus*, land which once had been communal but which had been

\* This paper was read at the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on April 14, 1950.

acquired by long occupation. It also included slaves and cattle. The *paterfamilias* was not the owner of this family property. The other males of the family are described in juristic writers as *quodammodo domini*,<sup>2</sup> and the position of the *paterfamilias* approximates that of a good manager. He was responsible for the well-being of all the members of his family. What is more, freedmen and clients of the family were attached to him by the most sacred bonds, and he was obligated to protect and defend them. He was expected to manage the family estate in such a manner that he could hand it over to the next generation unimpaired, a fact reflected in the infamy which attached itself as late as the first century to a person who had wasted his patrimony.<sup>3</sup> To carry out his obligations the *paterfamilias* enjoyed powers of management over the persons and things in his *familia* as autocratic as those of a nineteenth century sea-captain, though the members of the family were protected by law against prodigality, incompetence, or capricious alienation of property on his part.<sup>4</sup>

It can readily be seen that so strictly organized a unit within a pastoral and agricultural state precludes the necessity for welfare legislation. Each unit cares for its own. And it is of great importance to remember that this is the society idealized by the poets and historians of the Late Republic.

By the fifth century and the foundation of the Republic, there existed within the State two classes of citizens, the patricians and the plebeians. This is not the place to discuss the much vexed question of the origin of the plebeians. It is sufficient to observe here that while plebeians could hold and transfer land, and could vote, they could not hold public office, they were at an economic disadvantage in that they could not participate in the administration, and they were in constant danger of falling into bondage to the patricians: some because they had to neglect their tiny farms to engage in almost constant hostilities, others because they were already landless, the residue of a town population which grew up during the brief but brilliant period of commercial and industrial enterprise under the Etruscans.

Early in the Republic the urban plebeians, rebellious at the overbearing position of the patricians, seceded

from Rome. The patricians, surrounded by hostile tribes, needed the plebeians, and effected their return by conceding to them the election of officials, the tribunes of the plebs, whose duty was to protect individual citizens against wanton and illegal treatment.<sup>5</sup>

It was only natural that leadership in the organization of the plebeians should devolve on those whose economic status did not much differ from that of many of the patricians. These men were ambitious to improve their political and social station in the State, and their position as representatives and defenders of a large block of unprivileged citizens lent them great power to attain their ambitions. Granted that, day by day, the tribunes carried out their duties in protecting the citizens conscientiously, still it is a matter of importance that tribunician activity was largely responsible for gaining (1) the right of intermarriage with patricians,<sup>6</sup> (2) the right of plebeians to the magistracies and priesthood,<sup>7</sup> and (3) the recognition of a validity for the whole people of legislation passed by one portion of the population, the plebeians, under the presidency of the tribunes.<sup>8</sup> These are social and political gains, and they were enjoyed chiefly by the wealthier plebeians alone. Ultimately they resulted in the inclusion of the tribunes in the

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<sup>2</sup> Paulus *Digest* xxviii. 2. 11, *Sent.* iv. 8. 6; Justinian *Inst.* ii. 19. 2, iii. 1. 3.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Cicero *De oratore* ii. 55. 223-26, *Pro Cluentio* 51. 141; Horace *Sermones* i. 4. 109-11.

<sup>4</sup> The *Twelve Tables* (V. 7) provide protection against the prodigal or incompetent, while the cumbersome and public ceremony of mancipation made thoughtless alienation difficult.

<sup>5</sup> Livy ii. 32-33; Dionysius *Ant. Rom.* vi. 45; Cicero *De rep.* ii. 33. 57-58; Asconius *In Corn.* (ed. Orelli) 75 f.; Festus s.v. *Sacer Mons*.

<sup>6</sup> Livy iv. 1-6; Cicero *De rep.* ii. 37. 63.

<sup>7</sup> The consulate was gained by the plebeians in 367 a.c. (Livy vi. 42. 10-11).

<sup>8</sup> Pliny *NH* xvi. 10. 37.

Senate, the very citadel of the aristocracy, and in the formation of a new patricio-plebeian nobility of office.

Examples of legislation undertaken to improve the economic condition of the poor are extremely scanty down to the Gracchi. Assignments of land to individual plebeians are reported once in the fifth, three times in the fourth, and once in the third century.<sup>9</sup> In the early second century the Senate awarded lands to Scipio's veterans in areas devastated by the war with Hannibal,<sup>10</sup> and sent settlers into Liguria when its population was transferred to Central Italy for reasons of security.<sup>11</sup> In addition there were also, of course, the large numbers of citizen and Latin colonies founded for tactical purposes. These are important to our study, for they also served to keep the numbers of poor and landless in Rome at a minimum. Debtor laws apply to all persons, of course, but are especially beneficial to the poor. The rate of interest was set by the *Twelve Tables*, but it had to be reestablished in the fourth century, and was soon thereafter reduced; perhaps for a time the right to collect interest was even abolished.<sup>12</sup> The State is said to have undertaken the settlement of some private debts at this time, but the allusions are obscure. Finally, the State made it a practice to send commissions abroad to procure grain at times of dearth or famine. This is not strictly welfare legislation, but perhaps it is important as a precedent.

In view of Polybius' remarks on the Roman constitution, it is of interest to discover by what means these few concessions to the welfare of the unprivileged were obtained. In every case they result from pressure on the part of the organized plebs, but this was pressure which almost always stopped short of tumult. Bargaining between the contending parties ensued—the Romans would bargain with the gods themselves. Patience was displayed on the part of the tribunes, and concessions were made by both sides. In other words, these measures were the products of evolution, just as the Roman constitution was, and were the firmer therefore, because they were founded on general agreement.

From the earliest days of the Republic the Romans were under the constant pressure of a ring of hostility. The citizen had to be ever on the alert, ready to turn from his herd or farm to mobilize for defence at a moment's notice. In order to be effective, he must render instant and complete obedience to the authority of the State. With centuries of such training the Roman acquired a sense of discipline, a sense of law and order, which was deeply ingrained into his consciousness. He

learned that it was far wiser to settle internal disputes by law, and a respect for law soon developed, a respect which bore fruition in a very early codification of the law. The sanctity in which this early codification, the *Twelve Tables*, was held explains three concepts of the Romans which are of primary importance in the matter at hand. Firstly, the Romans insisted that all their law stemmed from the *Twelve Tables*, and they insisted on a careful regard for authority and precedents in any legal undertaking.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, in order to find authority or precedent in a document as primitive as the *Twelve Tables*, it was necessary to create a series of legal analogies to provide for cases not treated in the code. Thirdly, the *Twelve Tables* strictly forbade privilege, that is, a law passed in favor of or against a private individual. From this the Romans deduced that the State must not undertake any scheme from which the whole populace did not receive immediate and palpable benefits.

No understanding of the climate in which Gracchan legislation was situated, nor of the welfare legislation, such as it was, which preceded it is possible without considering these three factors. The economic and social problems of the second century are well known. The State had had at the end of the Second Punic War large amounts of public land from which it needed revenues. The wealthy alone had been able to guarantee these, and found not only that the culture of the vine and olive was profitable, but also that the devastated or less fruitful lands of southern Italy were ideal for grazing, which was even more profitable. Meanwhile, the Italian peasantry was enticed or forced by various factors to the city: some, who had survived the countless wars and found their way back to the homeland, could not find the funds necessary to bring their farms, ravished by Hannibal, back to productivity; some found their homes lost by debt or by the depredations of powerful neighbours; some could not compete with the quantities of slave labor with which imperialism had endowed the country; some found farm life uncongenial after the excitement and splendors of Magna Graecia and the Old World; many could not resist the temptation to sell at prices inflated by the fat coffers of those persons who were in a position to exploit the loot of the provinces or the opportunities of commerce.

The result was a swollen urban population, poverty-stricken, chronically unemployed, venal. Now, it is to be observed that the Roman noble and Roman proletarian worked out a solution which, as far as we know, was mutually satisfactory. Certainly it was a Roman way, and a way based on the oldest traditions and practices. This is the "New Clientage." We have noted that the ancient sacred tie of clientage bound patron and freedman, or other dependent, to one another

<sup>9</sup> Dionysius x. 32; Livy iii. 31-32, v. 30. 8, vi. 4. 4; Diodorus xiv. 102. 4; Livy vi. 21. 4, viii. 11. 13-15; Polybius ii. 21. 7-8.

<sup>10</sup> Livy xxxi. 4. 1-3, 49. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Livy xlii. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Livy vii. 16. 1, 19. 5, 21. 5-8, 27. 3-4, 42. 1; Tacitus Ann. vi. 16. 2-3.

<sup>13</sup> Livy iii. 34. 6; Cicero De leg. ii. 23. 59.

by insoluble ties. Now, however, the poor attached themselves to those persons whose largesse was most bountiful. Quantities of persons thronged the doors of the nobles, accepting gifts of money, food, or invitations to meals.<sup>14</sup> In return for these they enhanced the prestige of the patron by escorting him daily to the Forum, and strengthened his political power by supporting him at the polls. This was a new, voluntary, and almost fictitious relationship: a kind of political bribery masquerading under an ancient and honorable name, but it nevertheless had the saving grace of precedent. Surely the Romans were not ashamed of it, for even a century later Cicero could say, "Men of humble station have only one method of meriting and repaying the favors they receive from our order—by assisting and attending us in our campaigns for office."<sup>15</sup>

Earlier we mentioned that down to the time of the Gracchi there had been seven assignments of land to individuals in Italy which are attested by history. Six of these were made under the authority of the Senate, sometimes after much pressure it is true—but still the Senate was persuaded at last. But in the seventh case Gaius Flaminius, the tribune of 232 B.C., had distributed the Gallic lands against the will of the Senate and with the authority of the Tribal Assembly alone. Surely his action was constitutional, yet he and his action were damned for generations. A consideration of our second Roman concept will explain the reason. We have remarked that the *paterfamilias* was the "good manager" of the family property. To the Roman legal mind there was a close analogy between the State and the *familia*. To them the public land was to the State what the *heredium* was to the family, and the *patres* enjoyed the supervisory capacity of the *paterfamilias*.<sup>16</sup> This is what the Senate found so grievous in Flaminius' action. The challenge to its right of administrative control was a challenge to the most basic conception of the nature of the State. The weakness in the senators' position, of course, lay not in the theory, but in the fact that they not only had administered but also had monopolized the common property.

The traditional Roman antipathy for *privilegium* was

<sup>14</sup> For the inconveniences to the patrons see the remarks of the comic poets: Plautus *Menaechmi* 571-600, Terence *Eunuchus* 335-42. For a discussion of the change in the nature of clientage see N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, transl. by Willard Small (12th ed.; Boston, 1901), pp. 354-59, and Gustave Bloch and Jérôme Carcopino, *La République Romaine de 133 à 44 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1935), pp. 98-103.

<sup>15</sup> *Pro Murena* 34. 70.

<sup>16</sup> Pietro Bonfante (*Histoire du Droit Romain*, transl. Jean Carrère and François Fournier [Paris, 1928], I, 165) points out that there are several parallels between public and private law due in part to the original identity of family and *civitas*. It should be noted further that this point of view is corroborated by the organization of Roman colonies, where the individual was assigned only the small *heredium*, while all together apparently enjoyed the larger portion of the colonial assignment.

so marked that it is perhaps wonderful that any legislation benefiting the poor ever was passed. Cicero repeatedly cited with approval the passage in the *Twelve Tables* condemning *privilegia*, and drew the logical conclusion that legislation for the benefit of any special group within the State was contrary to the best constitutional principles.<sup>17</sup> The attitude is best illustrated by the anecdote of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who constantly harangued against the law of Gaius Gracchus for the distribution of grain. When the law nevertheless was passed, Piso, though a man of consular rank, was found to be among those presenting themselves for a share. Gaius asked him if his present conduct were not inconsistent with his opposition to the law, to which Piso replied, "I would wish, Gaius, that you were not eager to divide my goods among all men, but, if you do, I shall claim my share."<sup>18</sup>

During the second century there intruded upon this Roman attitude, these Roman solutions proceeding along Polybius' natural lines, ideas completely foreign to tradition. Historians and rhetoricians praised Periclean democracy, where the people ruled through their wise and chosen leader; but this was subversive of the delicate system of checks and balances which the Romans had developed for themselves. Philosophers expounded the common humanity of man and the duties of the State to its poor; but many a Roman knew that he had reached the summit of power through the judicious use of expediency and, in any case, programs to benefit one class smacked of privilege. Ambassadors, commissioners, and generals returned from the Old World with tales of unexampled Hellenistic generosity and *liberalitas*, which the Stoics defined as "a spontaneous inclination to good actions and generosity."<sup>19</sup> This was the most difficult of all to comprehend. Products of a narrow and stubborn soil, the Romans of necessity learned to practise thrift. As early as the *Twelve Tables* Roman society took precautions against the prodigal, and Polybius drily observed that no one at Rome ever gave away anything to any one if he could help it, nor would he repay a debt a day before the appointed time, so extreme was his exactitude about money as well as his desire to profit by every moment of time.<sup>20</sup> The Roman expected a commensurate return from any outlay.

These are the factors in the rise of Roman welfare legislation. These are the factors which provided the resistance to Gracchan idealism. And just as the resistance in the coil of an electric stove creates heat upon the introduction of an electric current, so this resistance created heat, a veritable conflagration, which destroyed that product of Nature, the Roman constitu-

<sup>17</sup> *De officiis* i. 25. 85, ii. 21. 72; *De leg.* iii. 4. 11, 19. 44; *De domo sua* 17. 43; *Pro Sest.* 30. 65.

<sup>18</sup> Cicero *Tusc. disp.* iii. 20. 48.

<sup>19</sup> *SVF*, III, 291.

<sup>20</sup> xxxi. 26. 9, 27. 10-11.

tion, before it had completed its natural course, just as Polybius prophesied that it would be destroyed should any extraneous element tamper with it.<sup>21</sup>

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### THE LATIN NEWSPAPER—A PALINODE\*

The high-school Latin newspaper—a pseudo-journalistic production, written in Latin by students, and mimeographed or printed for fairly wide distribution—is one type of “teaching device” in which I have been deeply interested for some time. Within recent years, however, my thinking on the subject has been undergoing a change. Perhaps my readers will bear with me if I indulge in a little personal reminiscence, as a background for one or two suggestions which I should like to advance in this connection, for whatever they may be worth.

While still a graduate student, I had the rare good fortune one summer to serve as assistant in a teachers’ course in Latin, given by one of the outstanding authorities in the field. The distinguished professor permitted me to handle all the work in “interest devices.” In preparation for the course, I went through everything that had been published in the United States on these devices; and, with the professor’s cooperation, I planned a “model Latin club” for the members of the course, in which they might try out upon one another as many of the devices as they might wish. The “club” met once a week for the six weeks of the course, and made trial of just about everything that had ever been suggested. We kept a bulletin board and a class scrapbook, we made charts and models, we staged plays and other performances, we sang Latin songs and even wrote some ourselves, we played card games and other games as well, and we had a Roman banquet. We nearly killed one another off—but we did get practical working experience in these activities, of a sort that many of us will never forget.

Among other things, we put out a Latin newspaper, *Acta*, once a week. Our editorial board was a rotating affair, and every member of the large class served on it once during the summer. The paper was really very attractive. It was well mimeographed, in neat columns, and was illustrated with drawings. It had the usual features—news of the world as well as of the university,

feature stories, personal items, “society” notes, cartoons, imaginary advertisements, etc.—all done in Latin.

Our *Acta*, it seems, made something of a hit. The members of the course, charmed with their successful “newspaper,” went back to their several home states (about fifteen in all), and apparently proceeded to make use of their “journalistic” experience.

Now, the Latin newspaper was not then a brand new device. Many schools had been publishing such papers for years. But, for some reason or other, at just about that time the idea became very popular. The department of “Hints for Teachers” in the *Classical Journal* started to publish lists of high-school newspapers, and many schools which had not previously attempted such papers began experimenting with them. Shortly afterward, Miss Frances E. Sabin, Director of the Service Bureau of the American Classical League, asked this writer to prepare a mimeograph entitled “Suggestions for Latin Newspapers.” The pamphlet sold well; and a short time later Miss Sabin requested a sequel, “More Suggestions for Latin Newspapers.” Both mimeographs ran through numerous “editions,” and went to all parts of the country. The Service Bureau set up a display of Latin newspapers in its headquarters in New York University. Visiting teachers examined them; and many of the teachers, upon their return home, started papers of their own. And so the Latin newspaper bloomed and flourished; and this writer must perforce admit having had some small part in fostering it.

Several years have now gone by since that period of great popularity; but we still have many Latin newspapers in schools the country over. It seems to me that Latin teachers might do well today to reconsider the value of the Latin newspaper as a teaching device under present conditions in our schools. For conditions have changed. At the time of the initial popularity of the Latin paper, most teachers of Latin in the United States were excellently trained. For the most part they had had four years of “solid” Latin in high school, a good major in Latin in college, and often a minor in Greek as well. Many of them even held master’s degrees in Latin, from good universities. On the other hand, some of them were still using in their classes a conservative, dull, imitative method of teaching. The whole educational trend was away from their subject, and Latin classes were showing a decline in numbers. The immediate need in those cases was for a new approach—something to vivify the classroom routine. Under these conditions, high-school students usually responded delightedly when the idea of a Latin newspaper was presented to them. These students, be it remembered, were in many cases in their fourth year of Latin. They had had good, albeit dull, training in Latin composition in their second and third years; they knew their Latin grammar and vocabulary well; and they were equal to the “free composition” involved in such a venture. Even

<sup>21</sup> vi. 57.

\* This paper was given as a talk at the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on April 15, 1950. The author is the editor of the *Classical Outlook*.



more important, the teacher was in most instances professionally equipped to scrutinize and criticize carefully all such composition before the paper was published.

Now the position is very different. In all too many of our American high schools, students take a maximum of two years of Latin, and have no work in prose composition that is in any way comparable to that in the earlier curriculum. Also, unfortunately, too large a percentage of our teachers of Latin are not now so strongly grounded in Latin as were teachers of a few years ago. Some are, it is true; in our larger cities we still have many high-school teachers with the doctor's degree in Latin, and an even larger number with the master's degree. But out over the country there are alarmingly few teachers of Latin who have majored in Latin in college; and for about fifteen years there have not been too many new teachers of Latin who have come to their schools trained as most of us think Latin teachers should be trained. Disturbing as the thought is, it is nevertheless a fact that of the younger teachers of Latin in our schools only a comparatively small number ever dreamed of becoming teachers of Latin; they are, in many cases, English or French or Spanish or history teachers who have been asked to teach a class or two of Latin, often very much against their will. Many of these younger people are, indeed, excellent teachers in the general sense of the word. Realizing their own lack of preparation in Latin, they have worked long and earnestly, in summer schools, to make themselves good Latin teachers. They have sought aid from textbook publishers, and from extension divisions of universities; and they have utilized to the full the resources of the American Classical League and its Service Bureau. I know whereof I speak here; for every year I receive calls for help from teachers of this type, and do all I can to assist them. But, in spite of all their hard work, the fact remains that many of these teachers continue to have deficiencies in their preparation. With the best will in the world, many of them are simply not equipped for a venture in, for example, the very "free composition" of which we have been speaking.

The Latin scholar knows well that any "free composition" in that language can be a tricky thing. Given a free hand, the immature high-school student will inevitably commit mayhem upon any number of Latin idioms, of the very existence of which he could not possibly be aware. The Latin for "I am inclined to think it is possible," for instance, is not, as one high-school Latin paper happily rendered it, *Inclinatus sum existimare id possibile esse*, but rather *Haud scio an fieri possit*. "He took his departure" is not *Suam discessionem cepit*, but simply *Abiit*. "What was he to do?" is not *Quid erat facere?*, but *Quid faceret?* "Indisputably" is not, as a student once translated it, *indisputabiliter*, but *dubitari non potest quin . . .* plus a verb in the subjunctive. "Soldiers of Rome" is not *militēs Romae*, but *militēs*

*Romani*. There is no Latin word exactly corresponding to our "yes" or "no." Verbs of hoping take the future infinitive. The conjunction *dum*, in the sense of "while," regularly takes the present indicative, regardless of tenses in the rest of the sentence. "What does it mean to us?" would be expressed correctly as *Quid nostrā interest?* As Arnold<sup>1</sup> reminds us, "'Acquire' is not *acquirere*, but *adipisci* or *consequi*"; "a man's 'acts' are not *acta*, but *facta*"; "'attain to' is not *attinere ad . . .*, but *pervenire ad . . .*"; "'famous' is not *famosus*, but *praeclarus*"; "'nation' is not *natio*, but *civitas*, *populus*, *res publica*, *civēs*"; "'obtain' is not *obtinere*, but *consequi*, *adipisci*, etc."; "'office' is not *officium*, but *magistratus*"; "'secure' . . . is not *securus*, but *tutus*."

The modern high-school student of Latin knows little or nothing of idiomatic usages such as these—nor, indeed, of many simpler ones. He does not always go to the length of the classic *bonus ab* as a translation for "Goodbye"; but he does some things that seem almost as dreadful. In one paper that came to my desk, *Te amo, te amo est omnis ut posse dixi* appeared as the Latin version of "I love you, I love you," is all that I can say." In another paper, *Est nihil, aut bonum aut malum, sed putans facit id sic* stood, in all innocence, for "There is nothing, either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." "It pays to be good" was rendered recently by *Pendit esse bonus*. "To be or not to be, that is the question" emerged as *Esse aut non esse, illa est rogatio*. And, in the current issue of an ambitious publication, a chairman, calling a meeting to order, says simply, *Ordo!* I refrain mercifully from quoting any of the common or garden variety of errors—those in plain declension and conjugation.

I could go on indefinitely with "horrible examples" from actual Latin newspapers; but I have no desire to seem to ridicule or embarrass particular schools or their students. They send me their published work with such pride, these boys and girls in little schools in all parts of the nation. How can I tell them that their Latin is atrocious, that it should have been revised and corrected with meticulous care before publication, that it is implanting wrong notions of Latin in the minds of all students who read it, that it is doing a grave disservice to the cause of the classics in this country?

Fortunately, there are notable exceptions to what I have been saying. We have some excellent Latin papers today, written by well-trained students of Latin, papers competently supervised and corrected by teachers as fine as any the country has ever known. But there are far too many of the other type—and I have reason to believe their number is even increasing somewhat. Certainly none of us would wish to check or frustrate the enthusiastic young students who work so joyously and

<sup>1</sup> Thomas K. Arnold, *A Practical Introduction to Latin Prose Composition*, edited and revised by George G. Bradley (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924), pp. 40-41.

proudly on these papers. But I feel that, as a profession, we must now give serious thought as to whether we wish to continue to encourage a device which is patently harming our students, by teaching and emphasizing "wrong Latin." For, make no mistake about it, the barbarities of a Latin newspaper will make a far deeper impression upon the students than do the less spectacular precepts of the textbook, and the less personally appealing sentences and paragraphs of the classroom.

And so I, for one, am ready now to suggest that we reconsider the Latin newspaper as a teaching and interest device. I suggest that we stop encouraging it, except in schools where the teacher of Latin is equipped and willing to do a thorough job of supervision and revision upon each issue. Perhaps the Latin newspaper has served its purpose in the American school. Perhaps we are ready now for something different—a paper written entirely in English, for instance, making use of classical themes for feature stories, and gaining local appeal by the inclusion of original verse and short stories, classroom anecdotes, notes on the doings of the Latin club, and "personal" items about Latin students and teachers. Many schools have had successful papers of this sort, for years. Would not this type of paper make a good substitute for the newspaper written in "barbarian Latin"? I should welcome letters from teachers who would care to tell me their opinions on the subject.

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

HUNTER COLLEGE

#### C. A. A. S. ROME SCHOLARSHIP OF 1951

Through the generous contributions of its members and friends, the Classical Association of the Atlantic States is able to offer the Rome Scholarship for the 1951 summer session of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome. Dr. Anna H. Griffiths, of the Brooklyn Friends' School, Brooklyn, New York, and Miss Joan B. Twaddle, of The Columbia School, Rochester, New York, the first two recipients of the scholarship award, attended the summer session in 1949 and 1950 respectively.

The twofold purpose of the scholarship is to encourage teachers in the secondary schools to recognize how greatly they can improve the content and the scope of their courses by pursuing the program of studies in the summer session of the School, and to give them substantial assistance to do so. The scholarship is therefore offered on a competitive basis, and the competition is restricted to members actively engaged in teaching Latin or the Classics in secondary schools, either public or private, within the geographical boundaries of the Association (Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania).

The scholarship provides two financial benefits: 1) the outright award of \$200 from the Rome Scholarship Fund of the Association; 2) the cancellation of the tuition fee of \$100, through the generous action of the Trustees of the American Academy in Rome. Thereby almost one-third of the estimated basic expenses (\$1000) of the entire trip and of attendance at the School are covered by these benefits.

The recipient of the scholarship award can, moreover, be assured of being accepted as a student in the summer session, on the condition that the New York office of the American Academy receives his or her name from the C. A. A. S. Rome Scholarship Committee not later than March 1, 1951. In order that this Committee may have adequate time in which to review carefully the applications for the scholarship, these must be in the hands of the undersigned not later than February 1, 1951. He may be addressed at Box 339, State College, Pa.

So as to facilitate the work of the Committee, applicants should supply all of the following data in their first communication and in the order here indicated: (1) name, age, home address, address of the school in which the applicant is actively employed; (2) academic biography as to degree(s) received, with date(s) and name(s) of institution(s); major and minor fields of study leading to the degree(s); (3) description of the courses which the applicant is now teaching; (4) academic and teaching plans for the future; (5) a confidential statement of the applicant's need of this scholarship and of the applicant's ability to meet from personal funds the remainder of the basic expenses that are not covered by the financial benefits of the scholarship; (6) two letters of recommendation. These data will be held in strict confidence by the Committee.

Applicants will please note that these data are at no time to be sent to the New York office of the American Academy in Rome. This office, however, stands ready to furnish information regarding the program of the 1951 summer session and other matters related to attendance at the School. Please write to Miss Mary T. Williams, Executive Secretary, American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

All the teachers who have had the privilege of attending the summer session of the School are unanimous in their enthusiastic acknowledgment of the great stimulus which this experience has given to their personal interest and their professional efforts in the broad field of Latin culture. The Association, therefore, heartily invites all of its qualified members who seriously aspire to attend the 1951 summer session to compete for the C. A. A. S. Rome Scholarship.

FRANKLIN B. KRAUSS  
President, C. A. A. S.

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

## REVIEWS

### The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth. Vol. I.

By LESLIE WALKER KOSMOPOULOS. Munich: Münchener Verlag bisher F. Bruckmann, 1948. Pp. xxii, 73; 4 plates. \$10.00.

Students of the prehistory of Greece have long awaited Mrs. Kosmopoulos' publication of the results of her work on the earliest remains of human occupation at Corinth, and they will warmly welcome this volume. For Corinth was obviously a key site in that remote past of the Helladic world when man began hesitatingly to establish himself in settled habitations, thus starting on his long progress toward civilization. Moreover Mrs. Kosmopoulos, who was the first to recognize that the prehistoric pottery of Corinth bore an unmistakable kinship with that of Central Greece and Thessaly, has devoted many years of her life to a patient study of the ceramic and other material that was gradually accumulated through some forty years of excavation by the American School from 1896 to 1935. With constant accretions season after season the collection, especially of potsherds, ultimately attained a formidable bulk, and the task of analyzing and classifying some hundreds of thousands of fragments required an enormous amount of labor.

Much of the material came from chance discoveries made here and there during the digging of the Agora and the region to the west of it; and in many instances, it must be said, the exact circumstances of discovery of deposits, perhaps small and casual, but not unimportant, were not too well recorded by excavators who were primarily concerned with the Greek and Roman levels. In an attempt to find and examine undisturbed deposits and thus to be able to co-ordinate the material, Mrs. Kosmopoulos herself undertook many excavations and soundings in 1911, 1914, 1920, 1930, and 1935. Her own observations consequently provided the basis on which she worked out the sequence of strata and periods.

The volume under review—which is the first in a series—offers a synopsis of the prehistoric material from Corinth. It is to be followed by further volumes which will describe in detail the Corinthian collection and the more or less contemporary material found at Halae in Locris and at the Choerospelaeum in Levkas, and will discuss the evidence for a correlation of the finds from the three sites.

At Corinth Mrs. Kosmopoulos has assigned the prehistoric remains to five chronological periods which she names Corinthian I, II, III, IV, and V. Corinthian I, the earliest, was represented by an undisturbed stratum, 1 m. thick, that rested on virgin ground on the south slope of the Temple Hill. The predominant and characteristic pottery is what Mrs. Kosmopoulos has

christened Rainbow Ware. It is a good undecorated fabric, usually variegated or mottled in a variety of hues ranging from buff, or even red, to gray and black. It corresponds to the plain red ware of Thessaly (A 1), of which it may be a forerunner.

Directly overlying the earliest deposit were two further strata, with a total thickness of 1 to 1.50 m., which Mrs. Kosmopoulos assigns to Period II, probably contemporary with Thessalian I. A similar stratum was also brought to light on the north flank of the Temple Hill. The typical pottery, alongside a much reduced quantity of Rainbow Ware and some relatively scanty examples of other fine wares, is what Mrs. Kosmopoulos terms Corinthian Brown. This is a fine buff fabric, decorated with neat linear patterns in brownish paint. There is also a considerable amount of plain coarse ware.

To Corinthian III Mrs. Kosmopoulos attributes a few stray sherds from the top of the strata of Period II on the Temple Hill, where the later prehistoric accumulation was presumably cut away in classical times; real deposits of the Third Period were, however, encountered in the central Agora near the Sacred Spring, in the western part of the Agora, and in an area still farther to the west. The layer, usually ca. 0.50 m. thick, contained a few sherds of the wares of Periods I and II, but, as its characteristic pottery, predominant quantities of Black Polished Ware and Brown on Buff Painted Ware, which Mrs. Kosmopoulos synchronizes with fabrics of the Second Period in Central Greece and Thessaly. Similar pottery came to light in many other places in and about the Agora, indicating that the Third Settlement was larger than its predecessors.

For Corinthian IV no proper layer *in situ* has been found, and Mrs. Kosmopoulos deduces the period from a deep homogeneous fill which was discovered on the south side of Temple E. The earth used for the fill seems to have been "peeled off" from an extensive layer of deposit belonging to a single period, and to have been brought to its new resting place in grading operations of late Greek or Roman times. The predominant pottery is a dark Red Ware, slipped or painted, along with which occurs a certain quantity of a Tricolor Ware that stands close to the well known three-color ware of Dimini.

Period V belongs definitely to the Bronze Age and is characterized by an abundance of Early Helladic pottery in an advanced type of *urfinis*. Remains of this stage in undisturbed strata have been found to the west and southwest of the Temple Hill (in one place overlying a deposit of Period III), and occasional pockets have been discovered widely scattered over the whole site.

After Period V there seems to be a break in the continuity of occupation. At any rate no real deposits have



yet been found that can be ascribed to the end of the Early Helladic or to the Middle and Late Helladic Periods.

Mrs. Kosmopoulos offers many interesting observations, comments, and deductions concerning the history of the settlement, in which she sees a gradual evolution from seasonal to permanent occupation. She believes she can recognize a continuity of development—especially well exemplified in the pottery—from the beginning through all five periods, as well as evidence of occasional influences from abroad. These and many other matters briefly presented in the pages of the book can best be tested when the second volume appears with its detailed description and analysis of the prehistoric material. Meanwhile it is very useful to have this synopsis of Mrs. Kosmopoulos' views and her classification of the pottery. Many pieces of the latter, though not all the categories she distinguishes, are illustrated, together with some of the miscellaneous objects, in figures in the text, and on four plates of admirable water color drawings by Piet de Jong.

No review of this book would be fair or complete without some reference to the difficulties and handicaps which Mrs. Kosmopoulos, as she sets forth in the introductory chapters, had to overcome in studying and preparing her material for publication. Many were the familiar difficulties that normally beset excavators when they labor at sites where storage space, working room, and facilities are scanty or almost non-existent. But beyond that the record here published indicates that Mrs. Kosmopoulos was subjected to arbitrary measures on the part of the responsible administration of the American School, which, as here related, actually deprived her in some measure of her rights to the first fruits of her own studies and her own discoveries resulting from excavations that she herself conducted at her own considerable expense.

CARL W. BLEGEN

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

**The Philosophy of Anaxagoras: An Attempt at Reconstruction.** By FELIX M. CLEVE. New York: King's Crown Press, 1949. Pp. xxiv, 168. \$3.00.

The task of reconstructing the philosophy of Anaxagoras is not an easy one. Almost all of the fragments are found in the writings of the Aristotelian commentator Simplicius, who lived a thousand years after Anaxagoras; these fragments total only about 120 lines of Greek (see Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* [5th ed.; Berlin, 1934-37], II, 32-44), and are by no means clear in meaning. Insofar as they can be understood, they appear to be inconsistent with one another and with the account given by Aristotle, whose testimony can hardly be ignored despite the notoriously biased way

in which he dealt with his predecessors. In consequence of these and other difficulties many scholars have concluded that the problem of reconstruction is hopeless. Others, taking a more optimistic view, have produced a vast literature of interpretation and discussion; but, unfortunately, no two of the proposed interpretations agree.

Mr. Cleve is one of the optimists. In the Foreword (p. viii) he says, "For some thirty years I have been attempting to reconstruct the genuine system, in all its foundations, branches, and ramifications, of one of the most gigantic of those pre-Platonic giants: the system of Anaxagoras." And now, at last, he says, "I have finally accomplished my purpose." The secret of his success is that he is a philosopher as well as a philologist; previous attempts by unphilosophic philologists have been doomed to failure "just as it would be impossible to the mere philologist to reconstruct a whole from fragments of an ancient mathematician's work." As to this, it does not seem to the reviewer that Mr. Cleve's philosophical ability has had any other effect on his work than that of introducing confusion; for example, it is perhaps in virtue of his philosophical training that he offers such explanations as "*that primary interrelation works in a dual operation*" (p. 9) and "*as a real philosopher, he must have had in mind a relation of 'into-one-another,' of a true mutual penetration only*" (p. 23).

Interpretations of Anaxagoras' fragments may be classified conveniently on the basis of how they interpret the oft-repeated assertion that there is a portion of everything in everything (*en panti gar pantos moira enestin*, Diels-Kranz, II, 37, lines 22 f.). Now although Anaxagoras adds that mind (*nous*) is an exception, it is nevertheless obvious that if the assertion is taken literally, it is absurd. Hence, one is led to consider at least the following possibilities, or any combination of them: (1) the first occurrence of "everything" may have meant something less than everything; (2) likewise for the second occurrence; (3) the word "in" may have been used metaphorically; (4) the word "portion" may have been used metaphorically. Mr. Cleve, choosing all four, interprets the passage to mean that everything which is not an element contains a portion of every element, where the elements are the so-called "opposites," e.g., warmth and coldness, brightness and darkness, etc. In this connection he takes the word *chrēmata* as Anaxagoras' technical term for "elements," and he regards *moirai* as "a designation for the ultimate particles, never existing actually isolated, of the *chrēmata*" (p. 17). He continues his little glossary with *merceia*—"could have been Anaxagoras' designation for a molecular aggregate of *moirai*"; and *homoimerceiai*—"might have been a name for molecules of equal constitution." On this basis, Mr. Cleve proceeds to give a whole Anaxagorean chemistry, with elements, particles, molecules, etc.

It is extremely doubtful that Anaxagoras used *chrēma* technically for "element"; in fact, it is doubtful whether

he thought that there were such entities as elements. In Fragment 12 he argues that mind is not mixed with any *chrêma*, for if it were mixed with anything it would share in all *chrêmata*, since everything contains a portion of everything. The validity of this argument seems to require that *chrêma* be translated as "thing," which is just how it would ordinarily be translated anyway. Further, the phrase "ultimate particle of an element" seems completely inapplicable in Anaxagoras' philosophy (unless it denotes merely a small object), for he asserts that each thing can be divided into things that are smaller, and he confirms this by asserting that there are as many parts in a small thing as there are in a large. Hence, if a molecule is an aggregate of ultimate particles of elements—and this is how Mr. Cleve uses the term—, Anaxagoras' assertions rule out the existence of molecules, too. Thus, with no elements, no particles, and no molecules, the Anaxagorean chemistry disappears altogether.

The author shows no awareness of the numerous and lengthy writings of Cornford, Jöhrens, Gigon, Bailey, and Gomperz upon his subject; but in view of the nature of the subject it is difficult to regard this as a very serious fault.

BENSON MATES

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

**Herodotus.** Translated by J. ENOCH POWELL. 2 vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. xxxii, 773; 2 maps. \$6.00.

Powell's translation of Herodotus is, in the main, a faithful rendition of the Greek text on which it is based, done in a smoothly-flowing imitation of the language of the King James Version of the Bible. While many, including this reviewer, would prefer a translation in current English idiom, this new work will be warmly welcomed by all students of Herodotus. The translation is somewhat free in spots and is not always as specific as might be desired. For example, ... ἀτελείην ... στρατιῆς καὶ φόρου ... (iii. 67) is rendered "... freedom from service and from tribute ..." (p. 230). The reader unfamiliar with the Greek text might fail to grasp from the translation that the "service" referred to is military service.

The Greek text employed is primarily that of Karl Hude in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*. One serious weakness in the translation, however, arises from the translator's readiness to employ his own emendations and those suggested by other scholars. In fact, the Critical Appendix listing departures from the Hude text occupies no less than thirty-five pages of closely packed small print. While many of Powell's own emendations do not

change the meaning essentially, there are some exceptions. To cite just one instance, according to the Hude text, Gobryes, one of the "Seven Persians" who plotted the death of Pseudo-Smerdis, attempts to justify the proposed assassination with the argument (iii. 73):

δτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἔόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς μάγου [τε], καὶ τούτου ὅτα οὐκ ἔχοντες.

Powell deletes the word *magou*, rendering the expression: "For we are Persians, and yet ruled by a Mede and one moreover that hath lost his ears" (p. 234). This, while not a drastic change in the text, can hardly be regarded as necessary for purposes of clarification, and it does have the effect of altering the motivation alleged for the slaying of Pseudo-Smerdis. According to Powell's interpretation, nationalistic considerations were the important factor involved (presumably the absence of ears was incidental), whereas, according to the unemended text, the resentment of Gobryes is inspired in equal measure by the nationality of the usurper and by the fact that he was a magus. Thus, in rendering the passage as he does, Powell, perhaps unintentionally, lends more support than is justified by manuscript authority to the view maintained by various scholars that the seizure of power by the magi on this occasion (if it actually occurred) was in reality an attempt by the Medes to regain the throne.

Another objection which may be raised is that the translator is somewhat arbitrary in labelling various passages as interpolations or late additions made to the text by Herodotus himself. One suspects that many of the passages so designated are simply products of Herodotus' well known inclination to digress from his main theme.

A convenient feature of the work which might well be adopted by other translators is the removal of chapter numbers from the body of the text to the top of the page. This device prevents the rapid reader from being distracted by numbers, without appreciably increasing the difficulty of checking references.

The translation is preceded by an introduction devoted to the biography of Herodotus and his place in the field of historical literature. Also included is a brief discussion of the earlier English translations of Herodotus. These sections are interesting, but the value of the introduction would be enhanced by somewhat fuller documentation. The work is concluded with a fifty-page index of proper nouns.

In spite of the flaws which have been mentioned above, Powell's translation is a very valuable work, and will, I am sure, win a number of new enthusiasts for Herodotus.

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY

**The Humanities for Our Time: University of Kansas Lectures in the Humanities.** By WALTER R. AGARD, HAYWARD KENISTON, ALLAN NEVINS, JOSEPH WARREN BEACH, THOMAS G. BERGIN, and WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER. With an Introduction by L. R. LIND. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1949. Pp. 159. \$2.00.

Mr. Lind quotes a recent president of the American Physical Society: "Society is the servant of science even more and in a more fundamental sense than is science the servant of society." These lectures constitute a vigorous answer to the appalling implications of this statement.

Mr. Agard analyses three "themes" fundamental to Greek Literature: *hybris*, *sôphrosynê*, and freedom as a value-concept. Readers may well disagree with his assertion, in summarizing the "Greek answers," that "free will is . . . a necessary illusion" (p. 20). It is also doubtful whether students of Greek tragedy would agree that "the essential conflict in every Greek tragedy is between man and social institutions, between individual wills, or between conflicting forces within an individual" (p. 22). Had Mr. Agard given fuller attention to the centrality of the religious dimension in Greek poetry and philosophy, he would not have tended to equate the general "Greek attitude" with a rationalistic humanism which denies religion. But all will concur with Mr. Agard that we must profit by the experience of the Greeks in their failure to develop the idea of international cooperation.

Mr. Keniston's "Literature as a Barometer of Modern European Society" shows how eighteenth-century French literature offers profound insights into the character of that society. One might urge that Mr. Keniston has been too hard upon the social scientist, for both the humane social scientist and the humane humanist are concerned with the problem of value.

"The Biographer and the Historian" by Allan Nevins analyzes with full illustrations the relation between these two types of scholar. In "Modern Fiction and the Threshold of Morality" Joseph Warren Beach argues very effectively that the frame within which modern writers work is in the deepest sense moral. Mr. Bergin singles out social purpose, a reverence for tradition, and the technique of poetic expression as outstanding characteristics in the works of Dante, though the reader may feel that he has never been allowed to penetrate below the surface. "The Classics and Survival Values" by William Hardy Alexander chattily reminds the classicist of much in and about his discipline that he should well remember.

Since the whole collection omits appropriate attention to the matter and meaning of religion, the student who feels that the values of the humanities for our time can only be understood in the perspective of religion will

read this volume with an inevitable sense of its incompleteness.

WHITNEY J. OATES

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

**Patroklos: Gedanken über Homers Dichtung und Gestalten.** By RENATA VON SCHELIHA. Basel: Benno Schwabe and Co., 1943. Pp. 418. Sw. Fr. 20.

Criticism of so overpowering a literary phenomenon as Homer is apt either to restate clichés or to diverge from Homer himself into related problems. Because Miss von Scheliha's *Patroklos* faces up to the essential critical task of illuminating the art and the mind of the poet and his poem, and because the time and place of its publication may have prevented potential readers from learning of its existence, it is well that some notice of the book, however belated, be taken here.

Miss von Scheliha is a staunch unitarian, and a major aspect of her work is a defense of the unitarian position. She is very ready to grant that Homer used existing materials—legends, characters, verse techniques, and the like; his own personality is to be discerned in the divergencies from the practices of his predecessors and contemporaries, which are to be divined from parallel traditions and other remains. From the comparison Homer emerges as a towering figure with much more refined ethical as well as artistic sensibilities. He not only fashioned the existing materials into a coherent whole, supplying meaningful creations of his own at crucial points, but he refined the primitive, softened the cruel, cleansed the scabrous, and informed the whole with a perceptive humanity. A sure key to Homer's own invention are the "new" characters he introduced. Of these the most meaningful is Patroclus, who affects the whole poem, even when he is not present, and who gives the primitive story of Achilles high artistic and ethical meaning. The refinements for which Homer alone is responsible were of incalculable importance in shaping Greek character, and particularly the Greek ideal of friendship. Homer's treatment of the story, for example, and not the story itself, made Alexander the Great the man he was.

At many points Miss von Scheliha's premises may be questioned, and her conclusions are often dictated by enthusiastic admiration rather than by compelling logic. But there can be no question that her method is correct for enucleating the individuality of Homer and giving it outline. Gilbert Murray thought a softer age had mollified some of the brutality in the primitive poem, and Bowra perceived the poet himself in the humble rusticity of similes which punctuate tales of a more aristocratic environment. Miss von Scheliha's ethical premises are a less tangible but more meaningful gauge. Her enthusiastic appreciation of a very great poet,

furthermore, makes her book refreshing as well as stimulating. Its full and careful documentation will acquaint the non-specialist with the general state of Homeric studies.

MOSES HADAS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

**Temple Treasures: A Study Based on Livy.**

By LAWRENCE A. SPRINGER. (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.) Philadelphia: Privately Printed, 1949. Pp. xiii, 74. \$0.75. (May be obtained from the author at 108A College Hall, The State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.)

This dissertation covers a wide field restricted to a single author. Five classes of treasures are differentiated, but admittedly with much overlapping. An immense mass of material is conveniently arranged and provided with ample documentation.

On page xiii a statue of Aemilius Paullus is placed *in* (or rather *on*) the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. It should be *before*, since an equestrian statue *in vestibulo* could not stand on "unfinished pillars of the temple" (p. 70). From Polybius (xxx. 10. 2 Büttner-Wobst) Livy repeats the plural, corrected by Plutarch's "tall rectangular pillar made of white marble blocks" (*Aem. Paul.* 28. 2). This is confirmed by the French excavators and their reconstruction of scattered fragments found in front of the temple. Its height was ca. 8 metres. Cf. M. I. Restovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hell. World* (Oxford, 1941), II, 740, with photograph.

Confusion of two Seleucias on page 6 is unhappily taken over from articles by the late Professor Shipley. For the seaport of Antioch, Sosius' capital as governor of Syria, had no significance in connection with Apollo, as had the much older Seleucia in Cilicia, with its Temple of Apollo Sarpedonius and noted oracle. From the latter city Socius brought the Niobid group also.

The interpretation of a passage from Livy xli on pages 34 f. raises doubts. If *tabula* here (xli. 28. 8-10) is "tablet" rather than "painting," we have un-Livian verbiage, in that *tabula . . . cum indice* amounts to no more than *titulus*. The gift to Jupiter could hardly be a mere inscription. It must have been the battle scenes on a wooden panel resembling Sardinia in shape but not claiming to be a map (cf. L. Ulrichs, *Die Malerei in Rom vor Caesar's Dictatur* [Würzburg, 1876], pp. 14-16, commended by S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *Topogr. Dict. of Anc. Rome* [Oxford, 1929], p. 330, note 1). A relief map of so mountainous an island is hard to imagine hanging flat against a wall.

Minor defects: page 1, Ovid's lines suffer from disarrangement; pages 6 and 9, Tibullus should be Lygdamus; page 31 top, a clause has been omitted after "elephants"; page 67 *med.*, Bruttium still lingers on some maps, unsupported by any ancient authority. Misprints are fairly numerous, correction being usually obvious.

On page 15 *med.* and elsewhere, "Experiences" should be singular; page 17, for "stela" (plur.) read "stelae"; page 59 *med.*, for "Lanuvin" read "Lanuvin"; page 60 *sub fin.*, for "Nemur" read "Nemus."

FRANK GARDNER MOORE

CLEVELAND, OHIO

**Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis.** Edited by BRUNO SNELL. 6th ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. liv, 142. \$4.75 (bound).

This sixth edition of the Teubner Bacchylides supercedes the fifth (1934, also by Professor Snell) as the standard authority. It follows the same general lines as its predecessor, but incorporates a great deal of new matter. The changes are mainly in details (new readings, conjectures, parallels, references, and suggestions have been added; obsolete matter has been excised; and there are some changes in the distribution of information between the Introduction and the Notes), but some changes of substance call for special mention.

In *Epinicians* 4 and 12 places have been found for two Florentine fragments (*ed. pr.* M. Norsa, *Ann. R. Sc. Norm. Pisa*, X [1941], 155-63) which belong to the London papyrus ("A"); parts of two new epinicians (14A, B) have been found in an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus, and are published here from a transcript by E. Lobel with the permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund; there are considerable changes in the *Encomia* (fr. 20-20C); and two new fragments have been added to the *Dubia*—some words from Plut. *Mor.* 646A as fr. 53a, and a new reading of *PBerol.* 16140 (*ed. pr.* C. M. Bowra, *Pindari Carmina* [Oxford, 1935], fr. 341 *incerti auctoris*) as fr. 64. The second Florentine fragment has made it possible to define the length of the gap separating the London fragments of *Carmina* 12 and 13; A is now shown to contain parts of two rolls only (*Epinicians* in at least thirty-six columns; *Dithyrambs*), and the new Oxyrhynchus fragments prove that the roll containing epinicians was originally much longer. Noteworthy additions to the Introduction include the paragraph suggesting that Bacchylides' poems were divided in antiquity into nine books (p. 33\*) and the suggestion that *Dith.* 16 is later than the *Trachiniae* (p. 43\*; cf. the new note on fr. 64, p. 46\*).

The new edition has a larger page than its predecessors; the Roman type is greatly improved; and the notes are more clearly punctuated. On the other hand, the Greek font (which is clear, but old-fashioned), the rough and discoloured paper, and the very poor binding are indications of the difficulties with which the publishers have had to contend in overcoming the consequences of the war, and especially the destruction of their printing-house and stocks in 1944.

J. A. DAVISON

VICTORIA COLLEGE, TORONTO.



**Gregory of Tours: Selections from the Minor Works.** By WILLIAM C. McDERMOTT. ("Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History," Ser. 3, Vol. IV.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Pp. xii, 109. \$2.50.

Gregory's *History of the Franks* has, since 1927, been available in Dalton's excellent translation. Professor McDermott has now created a useful and informative appendix in this selection from the minor writings, which are primarily hagiological. There are five sections: I. Eight prefaces to the eight books *De miraculis*; II. The first book on St. Martin of Tours (*Miracula III*); III. Two lives from the Seventh Book: St. Gallus of Clermont, and St. Gregory of Langres; IV. Gregory's later version of *The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus*; V. The first part of *De cursu stellarum*, treating seven human and seven divine wonders of the world. There are generous introductions, annotations, and a bibliography. Naturally, no selection or translation can satisfy any reader. I, for one, would gladly have sacrificed Part I to have had the second book on St. Martin, where very specific diagnoses of illnesses most frequently appear. With these, the general reader needs all the help he can get from a diligent student of Gregory's language. There would also have been great advantage in including the entire *De cursu stellarum*—no trivial representation of the practical astronomy of the time. The translator says that he has steered a middle course between a very literal and very free translation. From his translation the reader gets ungarbled information, but little notion of Gregory's effect on his readers. *Nostra rusticitas*, which Gregory constantly called attention to, was neither barbarous nor pedantic. Like Gregory the Great and other hagiographers of the period, he equated his language with that of *Piscatores*—meaning, primarily, St. Peter. It was at once colloquial and full of conceits, like the language of Al Smith. However, McDermott translates, for example, the *clausula aut finxit mendacio aut versu depinxit heroico* as "mendaciously invented or depicted in heroic verse." Or he writes, "The priest Hieronymus," and explains it in a footnote, "St. Jerome." Many readers relish this archeological approach to medieval literature.

CHARLES W. JONES

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

**Imperial Renegade.** By LOUIS DE WOHL. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1950. Pp. 311. \$3.00.

Within a broad framework of historical events Mr. de Wohl has let his imagination roam at large, as, I trust, it is his privilege to do. His hero is the apostate emperor, and in general he has dealt more convincingly with Julian's surprising success as a strategist than with the crises in his spiritual life. Many of the prominent

figures of the age are brought together in situations which seem more or less in character even when they contradict the known facts of history. Such, for example, is the scene in Athens where Julian, represented as a student under the sophist Libanius, is urged by his mentor to give a paradoxical eulogy of Nero, and complies, with a success that disgusts his friend, the young physician Oribasius. Of course we know that Julian never met Libanius at all until long after his student days, though he had read his published discourses clandestinely while still a nominal Christian. But such discrepancies matter little in a romance, and the *Renegade* is all rather good fun. Libanius, by the way, receives the marvellous title of "Professor of Apodeictic, Biastic and Paralogistic Logic." I leave it to the reader to discover for himself whatever else will delight or annoy him, and I refrain from querying the mark of wine called "Caecubrian."

According to the publishers, sixteen of Mr. de Wohl's novels have been made into motion pictures. I wish him continued prosperity, although I do not feel competent to assess the cinematographic possibilities of his work. At a venture, I should say that a satisfactory number of supernumeraries could be employed for the coronation scene, and it is clear in any case that the author is pretty much at home in his period.

ROGER PACK

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## NOTES AND NEWS

This department deals with events of interest to classicists; the contribution of pertinent items is welcomed. Also welcome are items for the section of *Personalia*, which deals with appointments, promotions, fellowships, and other professionally significant activities of our colleagues in high schools, colleges, and universities.

**Historia**, an international quarterly devoted to Ancient History, has announced the appearance of its first number. The editors are Dr. Gerold Walser of Basel and Dr. Karl Stroheker of Tübingen. Professor T. R. S. Broughton is the American member of an international board of collaborators. The periodical will contain articles, reports on recent research, reviews, notes, and bibliographical lists covering the entire field of Ancient History. Contributions may be written in English, French, German, or Italian. The first fascicle contains articles by Professor Kurt von Fritz of Columbia University and Professor Lily Ross Taylor of Bryn Mawr College. A supplement to the current volume will present an international bibliography of Ancient History for the years 1940-49.

The Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, announces the resumption of work upon two series, "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der althristlichen



Literatur," and "Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte." It is hoped that the publication of both these series, which were nearly complete when work was interrupted in 1941 by the war, will now proceed rapidly.

#### PERSONALIA

Dr. Charles Marston Lee was recently inaugurated as President of Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. Dr. Lee came to Geneva as Professor of Greek in 1918, and served as Dean of the College from 1923 until his inauguration as President. He has been a member of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States for more than thirty years.

#### PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

A committee has been set up under the auspices of the British Academy with the object of compiling a prosopography of the later Roman Empire (284-641 A.D.). Its object is to do for the later Empire what the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* has done for the Principate, to provide the materials for the study of the governing class of the Empire. The majority of the entries will be persons holding official posts or rank together with their families, and the work will not include clerics except insofar as they come into the above categories.

The French Institute of Byzantine Studies is simultaneously launching a Christian prosopography covering roughly the same period (300-700 A.D.) which will include all persons, whether laymen or clerics, who play a part in the history of Christianity.

The two committees have agreed to cooperate in the collection of material, since though their aim is different they both draw on the same sources. They cordially invite scholars interested in these projects to assist in whatever way they can.

There is a vast range of material to be worked through, including inscriptions and papyri, the Codes and the Councils, and patristic and hagiographical literature, not only Latin and Greek, but also Syriac and Coptic. It would be convenient to the editors if those who wish to help would undertake responsibility for a definite author or other group of sources.

In order to establish the origins and connections of the entries and to make certain that no references to them are missed it will be necessary to collect many more names than will ultimately be published. After discussion it has been decided that it will be the only practical course to collect all references to personal names in literary sources. In dealing with inscriptions and papyri this would involve unnecessary labor and special instructions have been drafted. Will any persons prepared to help please communicate either with Professor A. H. M. Jones, Department of Ancient History, University of London,

University College, Gower Street, W. C. 1, London, England, or with Professor H. I. Marrou, Université de Paris, Faculté des Lettres (Histoire Ancienne du Christianisme), Sorbonne, Paris, France?

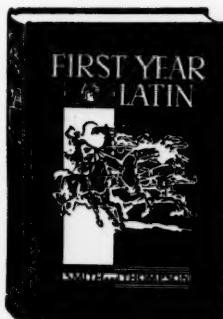
#### BOOKS RECEIVED

Here are listed all books received by THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY the subjects of which are deemed to fall within the WEEKLY's scope. Listing here neither precludes nor assures a subsequent review. Books received will not be returned, whether or not they are listed or reviewed.

- AUBIN, HERMANN. *Vom Altertum zum Mittelalter: Absterben, Fortleben und Erneuerung*. Munich: Münchner Verlag, 1949. Pp. vii, 176. DM 6.
- BALSS, HEINRICH (ed. and trans.). *Antike Astronomie*. Munich: Heimeran, 1949. Pp. 312. DM 9.
- BENGTSON, HERMANN. *Einführung in die alte Geschichte*. Munich: Biederstein, 1949. Pp. viii, 185. DM 8.
- BLÜMEL, CARL. *Der Hermes eines Praxiteles*. Baden-Baden: Klein, 1948. Pp. 73.
- BOURBOULIS, PROTEINE P. *Apollo Delphinios*. ("Laographia," No. 5.) Thessalonike, 1949. Pp. 81.
- CAMPENHAUSEN, HANS, FRHR. VON. *Die Askese im Urchristentum*. ("Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte," No. 192.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1949. Pp. 48. DM 1.50.
- COLLOMP, PAUL, and Others (eds.). *Papyrus grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*. ("Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg," Fasc. 97.) Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1948. Pp. iii, 44.
- DE VRIES, G. J. *Spel bij Plato*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1949. Pp. x, 391. 9.50 guilders.
- ENK, P. J. *Antieke "Short Stories"*. (Inaugural Address, Groningen.) Groningen: Wolters, 1949. Pp. 20. 0.90 guilders.
- EULENBERG, HERBERT. *Cicero: Redner, Denker und Staatsmann*. Wiesbaden: Der Greif, 1949. Pp. 206. DM 8.50.
- GÖTTE, JOHANNES (ed. and trans.). *Vergil, Landleben: Bucolica, Georgica, Catalepton*. Munich: Heimeran, 1949. Pp. 323. DM 8.50.
- HUISINTVELD, HERMAN. *De populaire Elementen in de Taal van M. Valerius Martialis*. (Diss., Nijmegen.) Roermond: "Maas en Roerbode," 1949. Pp. 132.
- JOSEPHSON, AKE. *Casae Litterarum: Studien zum Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*. (Diss., Uppsala.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1950. Pp. xx, 316.
- KAEGI, ADOLPHE. *Grammaire abrégée de la langue grecque*. Revised by ANDRÉ PERRENOUD. Paris: Attinger, 1949. Pp. viii, 282.

- KÄHLER, HEINZ. *Pergamon*. ("Bilderhefte antiker Kunst herausgegeben vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut," Vol. 9.) Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1949. Pp. 66; 40 plates. DM 10.50.
- KOCH, HERBERT. *Römische Kunst*. 2d ed.; Weimar: Böhlau, 1949. Pp. 160; 61 plates. DM 8.80.
- LAUSBERG, HEINRICH. *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Einführung für Studierende der romanischen Philologie*. Munich: Hueber, 1949. Pp. 93.
- MEYER, ROBERT T. (trans.). *St. Athanasius: The Life of Saint Anthony*. ("Ancient Christian Writers," No. 10.) Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1950. Pp. v, 154. \$2.50.
- MÜLLER, GUIDO, S.J. *Lexicon Athanasianum*. Fasc. 1-4, a to theos. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1944-50. Pp. 640. DM 30 each.
- OTTO, WALTER F. *Das Vorbild der Griechen*. Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1949. Pp. 45.
- PÖSCHL, VIKTOR. *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis*. Innsbruck: Rohrer, 1950. Pp. 288. \$2.50.
- RICCIOTTI, G. *Histoire d'Israël*. Vol. II: "De l'exil à l'an 135 ap. J.-C." Translated by PAUL AUVRAY. Revised ed.; Paris: Picard, 1948. Pp. 636.
- SIZOO, A. *Uit de Wereld van het Nieuwe Testament*. Kampen: Kok, 1948. Pp. iii, 229; 55 plates. 6.50 guilders.
- SLIJPER, E. *Muria: Inleiding tot het Vertalen van Homerus*. Groningen: Wolters, 1949. Pp. 175. 2.90 guilders.
- STARR, CHESTER G., JR. *The Emergence of Rome as Ruler of the Western World*. ("The Development of Western Civilization.") Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii, 145. \$1.00.
- STELLWAG, H. W. F. *De Waarde der Klassieke Vorming: Een cultuur-historische, paedagogisch-psychologische en didactische Inleiding*. Groningen: Wolters, 1949. Pp. 352. 9.50 guilders.
- STIRNIMANN, JOSEPH KASPAR. *Die Praescriptio Tertuliani im Lichte des römischen Rechts und der Theologie*. ("Paradosis: Beiträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur und Theologie," No. 3.) Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusverlag, 1949. Pp. xii, 180. S. Fr. 6.50.
- THOMPSON, HAROLD G. (reviser). *Smith's First Year Latin*. New ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1950. Pp. xx, 408, 90; 8 plates, 2 maps. \$2.20.
- WEICKERT, CARL. *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., I: "Polygnot"* ("Abhandl. d. deutschen Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl.," Jahrgang 1947, No. 8.) Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950. Pp. 28. DM 3.25.

## LATIN AND WORLD PEACE



The war and the efforts for peace both prove the importance of language study, and the parent language, Latin, has profited, for the sales of Latin books have increased.

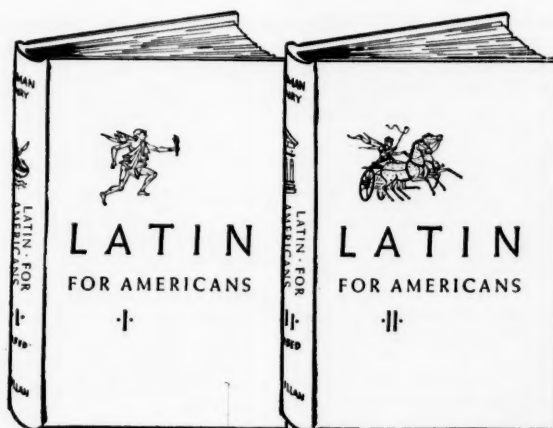
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